May 1955

Fellowship

ANNALEE STEWART *Secretary*

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No H-Bomb Candidate!

Sir Richard Acland

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COVER PHOTO: Annalee Stewart, an active FOR member, is the hard-hitting National Legislative Secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom which celebrates its 40th anniversary this year. (See story page 20)

FELLOWSHIP

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The Power of Negative Thinking

Finally, after what seemed an intolerable delay, a respectable number of the country's leaders of Christian thought have begun to speak out about Dr. Norman Vincent Peale's perennial best-seller, *The Power of Positive Thinking.* There is more to the gospel than this ecclesiastical Couéism, they point out, and the wages of faithfulness are not often paid in the currency most honored by respectable savings institutions.

This devotion to thinking "positively," and its concomitant abhorrence of anything that can be tagged "negative," come close to being a national obsession. Budding speakers are taught never to end a sermon or address except on a "constructive" note; the audience should be sent out warmed and inspired to *do* something, preferably right after Sunday dinner. Budding writers soon learn that there is a practically unlimited market for articles and books assuring their readers that faithfully following six simple steps will quite certainly enable them to solve whatever difficulty currently confronts them.

There is certainly a need for a constructive approach to any given problem, but there is a power of negative thinking, too, and at critical points in man's history it is often the more important of the two. So it is well to search for the "positive"

aspects of an opponent's program, but it is well, too, to remember that sometimes there is no such aspect, and that what Truth demands is the assertion of that fact.

"I hate, I despise your feast days," was the message the prophet Amos brought from the Lord to the complacent church-goers of his day. "Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."

Amos would never have gone over with the American reading public.

Time to Say No!

Considering the times in which we live, probably no one confronts the charge of "negativism" more often than the pacifist, and in some ways the role of prophet is more difficult than it was for Amos. The poor are still bought for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes, but they are comfortably out of sight on the other side of an ocean, recipients of the bounty of the Foreign Operations Administration, which dips gingerly into the nation's rotting stocks of surplus food and watches fearfully lest an irate Congressman accuse it of comforting the enemy. And the prophet himself not only has partaken of the silver and the shoes, but lives surrounded by amateur analysts who can explain away all his uneasiness of spirit in terms of childhood frustrations and embitterment.

Yet it remains the fact that the pacifist's principal role in this crisis is to say *No*! *No* to the idea that we can somehow reconcile Christianity and H-bombs; *No* to the notion that we can justify our own evil by reference to our enemy's evil; *No* to an economic system that absorbs a disproportionate share of the world's materials and wastes them in luxury and war; *No* above all to the national self-righteousness and complacency that frequently leave nothing but *No* to be said.

Pacifism has its positive thoughts on the great issues of war and peace, but they cannot be heard by Americans who are not first willing to think negatively about some of their dearest delusions.

Secretary of Peace

The appointment of Harold Stassen, director of the soon-to-be-defunct Foreign Operations Administration, as Assistant to the President in charge of thinking about disarmament, necessarily inspires some of these negative thoughts. Without in the least implying that the President and his assistant would not welcome disarmament if they could have it on their own terms, the negative thinker inevitably asks some disrespectful questions. To wit,

> What would we think of a similar appointment in the Soviet Union on the eve of extensive "tests" of nuclear weapons and in the context of that state's general policy? (What *do* we think of the Communist-inspired "peace offensive?")
>
> How does a "Secretary for Disarmament" fit in with the U.S.—inspired rearmament of Germany and Japan? What is the relation of the appointment to the President's almost casual acknowledgement, in the same news conference, that the United States is now quite prepared to use atomic weapons as readily as "conventional" in any future war?
>
> Does the disarmament about which Mr. Stassen is to think, involve an attempt to deal with the terrible problems of poverty and humiliation that lie behind arms races and wars, or is it conceived as a means of safeguarding this country's by-no-means-uncomfortable status quo?

Mr. Stassen's actions following his new appointment may suggest some of the answers. If we counted right, the first three were:

> (a) A statement to the House Armed Services Committee, urging the importance of the adoption of universal compulsory military service and training;
>
> (b) A statement to the press asking citizens to send him their ideas on disarmament;
>
> (c) A speech warning against any thought of unilateral disarmament, which he classed with arms races as the two most important causes of war.

by Lindsey Holland

You hardly ever hear one quoted. You just see a picture of a fine-looking young man with special words underneath like "Bags Fifth Mig." This is the talk of our nation, the accepted language, the language of war.

How far have we gone toward being a warlike nation? Newspaper editors and most men say they consider war a necessary evil, but the headlines and news articles show how they really feel. The American people are a nation of willing warriors. By propaganda of all kinds they have been induced into agreeing with wars that leaders felt were necessary. The peaceful people did not have the mental strength to resist. The evil-minded were pleased. News editors and writers, while hypnotizing the people, became more hypnotized themselves, so that now they can not think clearly about the problem. They automatically propagandize. Instead of reasoned words they use their language of war which consists of a set of symbolic fight-words as "Sabres Plaster Red Tanks." Look at any newspaper. Words like this gloss over and hide the harshness of battle's death and destruction, a thing seen by few and understood by fewer.

Worse than that, this language

keeps the emotions of the people stirred up in a silent way so that they cannot think clearly. This excitement is toward violence, and many, many repetitions cause a warlike sentiment, or way of thinking, to become set in men's minds. Thus is born the popular attitude of violence, an unreasoning trust in the use of force. The more repetitions, the stronger the sentiment. So people may say and write fine things about peace; but their vital force, their feelings, their action, will follow this deep-set, warlike thought-path when the chips are down. They cannot help it.

To pay lip-service to reason the shallowest excuses are given. It is said that the enemy understands only the language of force; and we, therefore prepare for military combat. But this has always brought poor results, and now it will bring disaster. We ourselves, therefore, are blind and understand only the language of force also.

Gloating Words

A headline saying "New Jet Ace" would mean nothing to a peaceful people, or even to a people that considered war a necessary evil, such as we claim to be. Such words are obviously gloating words, bragging words about death, a subject about which rational men would be serious, or at least modest. There is nothing in "Bags Fifth Mig" to show that we are reluctant about the killing of war. Such words are obviously to cheer and encourage a killer to continue his killing. They belie our careless peace-talk. A peaceful society would reject or ignore such talk. Not so in this country, or any other; but we have no right to take comfort in the fact that other nations are as ignorant as we.

Effect on Young

This pride in killing is tragic, but nothing is so tragic as the effect of the language of war on the young. Boys in grammar school joyfully imagine themselves jet pilots destroying "Commies" and "Red" planes. The only religion they are taught is nationalism. The comic books and picture shows fill them with fight-words. The children learn practically nothing of brotherliness toward all men, and what little they do get stops at the national boundary. They are told that all men are brothers, but they are given clearly to understand that in war they must fight for their country. This confuses and demoralizes the children. How can we expect them to be moral in other ways if their elders approve of killing, the greatest immorality? The power of love over violence is unknown to them. They are taught that it is noble to die for their country. It is almost impossible for them to learn that being violently patriotic is not the purpose of life, but that the purpose of life is to search for and strive to live by Truth as best they can. The greatest offenders are the parents who know but won't say.

Fortunately, there is a spark of intelligence that in some persons finds the truth even after this hypnotizing brought about by the language of war. Suffering caused by the misery of war and the loss of loved ones in war, sometimes breaks down the hypnotic thought habits. But the consequences of war usually come after rigid and

sustained training and propagandizing. The suffering, therefore, comes too late for most persons, after they are thoroughly hypnotized.

The newspapers do not mention the families of the dead flyers. In most cases "New Jet Ace" has thought about that himself, and also about whether the war is right or useful. He might say the wrong thing, and that is why he is hardly ever quoted. Actually he is usually reluctant to talk, and this is called modesty. But it could be that he is restless and worried that his heroic deed may be all wrong. This may be a sign that even in the mind of "New Jet Ace" the spark of intelligence is agitating against the lies of the language of war. This is the battle of battles, this battle in men's minds between the spark of intelligence, a thing of fire, and the language of war, a thing of paper. Eventually the fire will seek out the paper and burn it.

An Unworthy Survival

In our society we take it for granted that we should be strangers to each other—strangers who work together, and "deal" with each other, by the media of authority and money-exchange. We miss, hardly aware of our loss, the qualities of social warmth, of fraternal rivalry and co-operation—we miss these satisfactions and the strength they would give us.

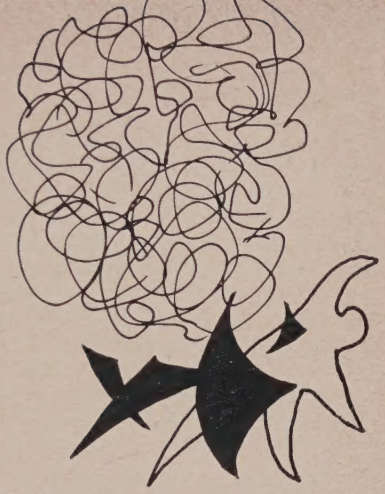
We take it for granted that a small number of people, more or less talented, shall make—one would hardly say "create" under the usual consumption-oriented conditions of the market, our "works of art," our "entertainment," while the rest of us are spectators.

And we are also a people who, in grave conflict within ourselves, have created all manner of crippling make-shifts to reconcile, with the life-goals our society teaches us, with the demands for conformity made upon us, our half-perceived but real yearnings for love, for self-respect, for friendships, for creative activities. . . .

Now, we must praise our country for its marvelous productive techniques, its medical miracles, the high development of scientific knowledge. We have, as few societies have ever had, the basis for living. But there is still—except for a very few—nothing but existence, an unworthy survival.

—David Wieck, in **Resistance** magazine, Aug. 1953.

NO H-BOMB CANDIDATE!



by Sir Richard Acland

In Britain's House of Commons a well-known MP greets with a dramatic statement the announcement that his country will build H-bombs

IT is my purpose to oppose the Air Estimates on the grounds that they make provision for the strategic bomber force whose sole purpose is to carry the hydrogen bomb.

I believe that that decision is wrong.

I do not regard it as being relatively wrong or wrong in some small way.

I regard it as being absolutely wrong, and I believe that the taking of this decision is the crucial decision which heads us towards disaster: whereas, if we had the courage, the vision and the clear-sightedness to refrain from this decision, the defence of our country and the peace of the world for the next quarter or half century might yet be secured.

I feel so intensely on this problem that I have to make a personal point. It is no longer possible for me—or rather to be more accurate I should say that for rather special reasons it is only possible for me for a few days longer—to go along with the majority of my colleagues on these benches who take the other view. This, therefore, is certainly the last speech that I shall make in this House except on the other side of the next Gravesend by-election, and it could, therefore,

be the last speech that I shall make here for a quite considerable time. I have to face that possibility.

In taking the line which I take this evening, with this emphasis, I am bound to start with the word *Peccavi.* I have myself sinned in regard to this issue because, of course, I should have protested, or protested much more vigorously, not merely against the hydrogen bomb today but against the A-bomb and the strategic bomber force in each year that this matter has come forward since the war.

Something Has Happened

I did, indeed, make a speech at this time last year against the strategic bomber force, and, to that limited extent, I am consistent. For the rest, I can only say two things in extenuation of my failure. One is that in the last 12 months something has happened. The hydrogen bomb has been actually exploded, and Japanese fishermen have been killed hundreds of miles from the explosion. That is something which affects anyone's emotions, and makes one understand and grasp the significance of things which, to be quite candid, one ought to have grasped before but did not. There is another change in the situation that has occurred during the last 12 months which I shall come to in the course of what I shall have to say.

Now, in considering the strategic bomber force, with all its terrible implications for humanity, I am bound to say, first of all, that the purely pacifist argument is enormously strong. When honestly stated that argument is quite simple. It is that this sort of thing is morally wrong. There is no room whatever for calculation about any consequences in the pacifist argument. Whatever the consequences may be, they assert that war is wrong.

Reinforced Argument

That argument, which completely discounts the calculation of the consequences, can today be reinforced by another which is not without significance. It is a truism that there have been great changes in the methods of waging war in the last decade. In 1939, it was my judgment—perhaps I was wrong, but I thought it right at the time—that all the worst that could be done to the human race by the sort of war that seemed probable in the 1940s could not exceed the damage which would have been done to the human race by the world victory of Nazism.

I am not sure that a comparable judgment could be made today. We look, of course, at what is worst in Communism, and we are apt to forget some of its material achievements. I think, perhaps, that is no worse than the attitude of those who look only at the material achievements and quite forget what is bad and evil in it. What is evil—if one thinks of it extending over the whole earth and lasting many years, perhaps decades—is a daunting prospect. But it would not last forever.

To confine the spirit of man within a spiritual strait-jacket for ever is absolutely inconceivable.

All I have to say is that it is not a self-evident proposition that the damage done to the human race now, and in the centuries in the future, by the world victory of Communism would be worse than

the damage done to the human race by a hydrogen-bomb war fought in order to prevent it.

We now say, quite openly, that what we rely on to save the peace of the world is the deterrent—the H-bomb—and it is this which makes a decisive difference compared with the situation a year ago. It makes a difference particularly in relation to the problem of cooperation with our American friends.

Twelve months ago was the last occasion on which, in the last resort, we were relying for the defence of the free world upon men on the ground; armed men—some, maybe, armed with atomic artillery. But the essence of the defence of the free world, as we conceived it 12 months ago, was by men on the ground. When we consider men—and in part of this Estimate we are doing so—the fact is that Western Europe has far more men than the United States. It would have been churlish, it would have been intolerable, to suggest, when defence depended on men on the ground, that the United States should provide all the men and Western Europe none. That would have been a fantastic suggestion.

Different Situation

But now the situation is entirely different. For the defence of the free world now and henceforth we count on the deterrent. In this connection, the United States of America—far from being, as it is, in terms of manpower, smaller than Western Europe—is fantastically larger in its industrial capacity; in its power of producing aircraft and other weapons, and, of course, fantastically larger still in its taxable capacity.

Even were that not so, the fact stands out that the United States alone, without any assistance from anybody, has got the whole of the deterrent that is needed. Whereas when the matter ultimately depended on men, the United States rightly asked, and insisted, that others concerned should make their contribution in men, the United States—so far as I know—does not even want us to make any contribution to the thermo-nuclear deterrent. The Americans have got enough of it themselves in their own country.

Bombers Ready

It is pretty clear that the Americans' strategic bomber force has already photographed every square mile of the Soviet Union by night, at over 50,000 feet, with infra-red photography.

There they are, in fact, poised and ready.

Here are these two giants. They threaten each other with complete extermination. The American Air Force is quite sufficient to carry out the threat of complete extermination if need be. To that possibility the RAF of today, and even the maximum possible RAF that we could build by concentrating all our economic resources upon it, would make a hardly significant addition.

It has been stated that in some curious way the possession of a strategic bomber force armed with hydrogen bombs will make us independent of the Americans. That is the most extraordinary argument that I have ever heard.

If by the possession of strategic bombers armed with hydrogen bombs we make Britain indepen-

dent of the United States we must mean one or both of two things.

We must either mean that with our bomber force we could threaten the USSR with the ultimate deterrent, even if the United States stood passively by; or we must mean that if the USA got itself into the position of exchanging hydrogen punches with Russians in circumstances of which we did not approve, we should have the power to keep out. But surely if we examine either of these propositions we shall find that neither can be maintained for a single moment.

Unpopular Fact

It is a very unpopular thing to say anything which reminds us of how small is our island. But can anyone in this House get up and tell me that, with the USA standing neutral, we could sit across from a tough Russian negotiator at a conference table, and say to him, "If you do not give way to us then we are going to drop our hydrogen bombs on you"?

In a hydrogen-bomb war, with the Americans out, and with Britain fighting the USSR does anyone think that we could annihilate one-quarter of the bases from which the Russians would launch their bomber planes and their rockets before they had destroyed, mainly by short-range rockets, every possibility of organized life here, let alone any possibility of carrying on a military struggle?

If it is thought that by possessing a strategic bomber force we make ourselves independent of the Americans in the sense that we could threaten the Russians without the Americans, then I say it is untrue.

What about the other argument? If the Americans and the Russians start trading H-bombs with each other, various countries might have the good luck to escape from the consequences. India might be left out; or Italy or New Zealand might be left out.

The argument that I am going to advance now is one of a relatively lower level of national selfishness, but I offer it all the same. We might be left out if we have not a strategic bomber force or the hydrogen bomb.

But if we have a strategic bomber force and the hydrogen bomb, which cannot add 5 per cent to the strength of the American onslaught, one thing is absolutely certain—that we shall, from the first day, be in any hydrogen-bomb war into which the Russians and the Americans get themselves.

Punctures Argument

I must, I am afraid, pick out one argument used by the Prime Minister in the course of his speech in the debate on defence, because it seems to me an argument which anyone of his strategic capacity ought to have seen through. He said that we must have a strategic bomber force of our own in order that, if the hydrogen-bomb war started, we should be in the happy position of picking and choosing our targets and of not having to rely on the Americans to bomb targets for us.

With great respect to the right hon. Gentleman, that is irrelevant. Let anybody advance to me an argument about the kind of weapons which we might need for the kind of cold war action such as in Korea, which might take place again without leading to the hy-

drogen bomb; such an argument is relevant. Let anybody offer in argument the idea that this course or that course could make the use of the hydrogen bomb less likely or more likely, and I say that is also a relevant argument.

The End

But to start offering apparently as a decisive argument a calculation based on what happens if and after the hydrogen war itself has broken out, is irrelevant, because when it breaks out it does not matter whether we pick and choose the particular targets which the Americans might not have chosen for us. It is the end.

In passing, may I repudiate the idea that a hydrogen-bomb war would mean the end of the human race. In some parts of the world men would survive, and although they might have to revert to infanticide to rid the world of monsters, they would none the less survive. But not for us.

If this war breaks out and we are in it, that is the end for us.

That brings me back to the question of how to stop it, and here in the short run I accept the answer that was given in the defence debate by the Prime Minister. In the short run, the hope of not having a hydrogen-bomb war rests in our belief that these two giants, counterpoised against each other in hatred, fear, power, and suspicion, may each be so terrified of the damage that might be done by one to the other that neither will take the responsibility of unleashing the final holocaust. That is a real hope, though not a certainty, in the short run.

But what about the long run?

How long has the human race to live on the razor edge of tension, with the minds of our young men in schools and universities—as hon. Members must know it in cases of their own children — distorted through the domination of their lives by this fear which hangs over all of us?

How long is it to go on?

Surely the only relevant, strategic question is, what line of policy can we possibly adopt which will give us some chance—I do not say a certainty because we cannot say "certainty" in these matters—to play our part in relaxing, over the decades, this tension between these two giants which strains the world to distraction.

Consider the USA and the USSR in isolation, and assume, for the purposes of argument, the hypothetical case that they are the only two nations in the world. I would say that in such a situation there could be no long-term hope for the relaxation of the tension at all.

I say, not in hatred or even in criticism of the people or the Government of the USSR or those of the USA, but just because of the nightmare situation in which they find themselves, that, as far as those two giants are concerned in their relations with each other, there is no possibility, except a continuance of fear, distrust, power to meet fear, more fear because of more power, more hatred because of more fear, more distrust and more tension.

Therefore, the only hope of the world and for our children and grandchildren lies in this: that some other peoples, extending at each moment the very maximum of tolerance, sympathy, and understanding, and, of course, construc-

tive criticism, both to America, and to the USSR, may be able, over the course of years, to show those two giants the way of learning to tolerate each other. India has done a little of this essential work within the last couple of years.

I do not want to whitewash the Indians completely as if they were saints. Alas, their relations with their nearest neighbors are sometimes open to criticism, whether it be valid or not. But in relation to the great world and to the tension between East and West, the Indians, in the last 12 months or two years, have achieved something.

The Foreign Secretary achieved something in relation to the conflict in Indo-China. Let me point out, however, that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Eden) achieved this success before we were committed to building the hydrogen bomb and a strategic air force; and, much more important, he achieved his success after it had become clear that we were not in any circumstances going to use force in relation to the Indo-China conflict.

By embarking now upon the building of the strategic bomber force, which has no purpose except to carry the hydrogen bomb, we place ourselves forever—or at least until this decision is reversed—outside the arena from which we could be effective in assuaging the ghastly tension between the two great countries which tears the heart out of mankind. By making ourselves an integral part of one of the two poles between which the tension rages, we can do nothing more to relieve it.

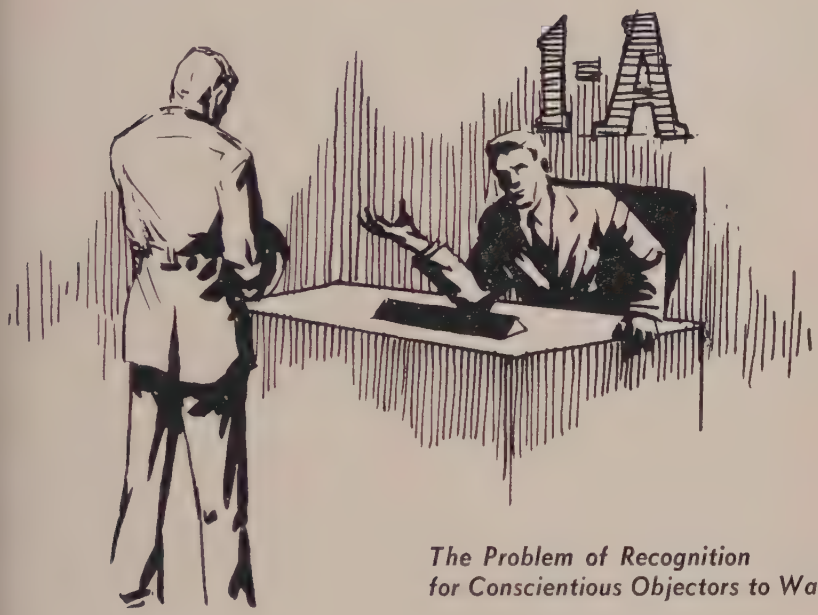
All our actions from now on will only serve to intensify fear, hate, power, and suspicion.

We are handing over the task of assuaging the tension to others, such as Sweden, India, Indonesia, and a few more. My fear is that without us those others are not quite strong enough to succeed. If we pursued the strategic policy necessary to join them I believe that we and they together might bring it off. To each there is bound to come a time when he has to say to his friends that here he has come to an issue that he feels to be so decisive that he cannot keep company with them any longer with only such mild protests as a speech, a Motion on the Order Paper, and perhaps an occasional naughty vote in a Lobby which the Whips suggest to be the wrong one.

The time must come when he has to stand up and take the final step and say, reluctantly, "On this issue we must part company and I must test out what the electors feel about it." At this time, when I am sure that many little people are bewildered by the fact that both the leading parties have accepted this horror and—if I may say so with all friendship—when the initiative taken by my right hon. Friend the Member for Ebbw Vale (Mr. Bevan) in the defence debate last week was, to say the least of it, so bewildering—somebody must go to the limits of what is possible within the framework of our democracy in order to assert that reconciliation, sympathy and understanding—even sympathy and understanding for men and nations that we believe to be wrong—are, in the end, stronger and more decisive forces than anything that comes out of the instruments of unlimited physical power. I should not be true to myself if I did anything other than that.

How Can One Be *Religious*?

by Orval Etter



The Problem of Recognition for Conscientious Objectors to War

A YOUNG Navy man was shown motion pictures of flame-throwers being used on human beings. Although he had been exposed to pacifist doctrines as a boy, the idea didn't "take" until now. Could he qualify as a C.O.?

The draft law defines the conscientious objector as a person "who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." The definition clearly excludes the C.O. whose stand arises solely out of "political, sociological, or philosophical views," or "a merely personal moral code."

What about this young man? Did his experience, a highly personal one, preclude him from qualifying as a C.O. within the eyes of the selective service? Suppose he had been so moved by this experience that he could present his position on religious terms? How is one religious within the meaning of the draft law? How, indeed, can one be religious? These questions have arisen in Northern California primarily out of more than a dozen appeals by C.O.'s for recognition by Selective Service and the Department of Justice.

Consider the appeal of a young

church musician. For many years (prior to his case) he had been extremely interested in the church and church music. By the time he appealed, he had decided to enter seminary. Today he is in seminary. The report of the hearing officer who examined him reads as follows:

> " . . . He was reared in the Presbyterian faith. Members of the Presbyterian Church claimed that he was devout and attentive in his religious practices . . ."

Important

It is important that these Presbyterians included a very well-known, highly regarded minister in Northern California and one of the top administrative officers in Northern California's Presbyterian Headquarters. The report continues:

> "The registrant personally appeared (and) . . . claimed that he could not participate in war . . . for the reason that he was opposed to killing and that his religious conviction extends so far that he would allow a criminal to kill him rather than kill. . . . His ambition is to engage in work as a church musician. . . . He apparently is quite attentive in his church duties. . . ."

This evidence——(1) the young musician's statements that he believed in a supreme being, (2) his opposition to war because of religion, (3) the testimony of prominent churchmen—all this (certainly in absence of evidence to the contrary) would lead one to expect that the hearing officer would find the young man's stand religious. No. The hearing officer concludes that opposition is "moral philosophy!" He does not say *why*, but he recommends 1-A classification.

A Graduate Student

Consider next the appeal of a University of California graduate student—a Presbyterian since childhood. The same hearing officer reported that this young man:

> "may be classified as an intellectual. Former neighbors stated that he was of a mild disposition, quiet-well-behaved. . . . Former pastors of his faith stated that he was a pious and sincere person. . . .
>
> . . . the registrant hopes to obtain his Ph.D. degree and serve in some social program of helping people in 'underdeveloped areas of the world.' He claimed that he is conscientiously opposed to combatant and noncombatant military service because of his religious beliefs. He has been a member of the Presbyterian Church since he was a boy. Recently he has manifested interest in the Quaker religion. He is not regular in church attendance at the present time, because it is necessary for him to engage in part-time work, especially on Sundays."

This recital contains evidence that this student's stand was religious. He stated in his draft questionnaires, moreover, that he believed in a supreme being, and that his opposition to war arose out of religious training and belief. Would this not establish his stand as religious? No. The hearing officer said that "opposition to military service stems more from per-

sonal moral scruples rather than well-defined religious beliefs" and again recommended 1-A classification.

Why? Again, not a word of explanation. Was it because the student was "an intellectual?" Was it because he wanted to serve "in some social program of helping people?" Was he more humanitarian than religious? Was it because his church attendance at the time of the hearing was not regular? If this seems contrary to the student's claim, its circumstances virtually nullify any adverse light it might cast upon him. Only a statement from a former pastor that the student was "sincere and religious but not a strong-minded character" and seemed "psychologically entangled" was used by the hearing officer to imply that his stand was merely moral. He does not explain why this feeling (assuming it to be well-grounded in fact) should lead to this conclusion.

Less Orthodox Backgrounds

Consider now the appeal of a member of a tiny sect known as Christ's Church of the Golden Rule. Here, the records of the same hearing officer indicate that members of this church:

> "advised that the registrant was clean morally, mentally alert, intelligent, devout and (a) sincere conscientious objector.
>
> "The registrant . . . stated that it was his ambition to ultimately teach school in one of the projects belonging to the church. His witnesses informed that he was . . . a bona fide conscientious objector. He has been a member of Christ's Church of the Golden Rule . . . for more than eight years. His parents are members of the same faith. (The) Church functions on a more or less communal basis. The members call themselves 'student ministers' and work upon the project without receiving wages. In lieu thereof they are given board and lodging and a clothes allowance. In response to questioning, the registrant stated that his religious training and beliefs would not permit him to engage in military service, even as a noncombatant."

Here, the officer concluded that "the registrants opposition to participating in military service stems primarily from an active interest in paideutics[1] rather than compelling religious conviction." In Washington, the Department of Justice reiterated this conclusion.

Finally consider a young man keenly interested in oriental religions. Here the Department of Justice, drawing upon the findings of the same hearing officer reported:

> ". . . References furnished by the registrant generally were of the opinion that he was a sincere and bona fide C.O., although they advised that he was not a member of any particular religious sect. . . . He hoped to become an instructor in Asian religion, namely Buddhism and Hinduism. He advised that as a boy he was reared as a Baptist. But he became disinterested in that faith when he was about 11. He became interested in Christianity when he was about 19, and in

[1] Officials at state headquarters for Selective Service resorted to dictionaries to find out what the hearing officer was talking about. Definition—"the theory or the art of instruction." *Frank and Wagnalls Desk Standard Dictionary* (1933)

Buddhism and Hinduism when he was about 22. He said that since June, 1953, he had been working for the American Friends Service Committee without pay. He stated that he was intensely interested in oriental religions and he claimed that Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity prohibit military service."

No Permission

He told the hearing officer that his religious training and belief would not permit him to serve in the military forces either as a combatant or noncombatant.

This record is obviously more complicated than any of the others quoted. Yet this evidence corroborates his statements in his draft questionnaire that he believed in a supreme being and was a C.O. because of religious training and belief. Nothing in the record contradicts explicity his claim that his stand was religious. Had he not done enough to induce the hearing officer and the Department of Justice to recognize him as a religious C.O.? NO. The Department of Justice concurred with the recommendations of the hearing officer.

"The hearing officer . . . believed that registrant was activated by a deep interest in the philosophy of Christianity and such oriental religions as Buddhism and Hinduism. He felt, however, that registrant could not be considered to be a religious person or an individual possessing any particular faith, although he followed the philosophy of the above-mentioned faiths. In view of these facts, the hearing officer concluded that registrant's opposition to military service was not based on religious training and belief but was predicated upon a personal moral philosophy."

Again there is no explanation. All they state is that the report found the young man to be philosophical and moral, but not religious. It does not explain away the many evidences that the young man's opposition to war was religious. Perhaps this is the reason why the United States Commissioner in San Francisco recently dismissed the charge that the young man had violated the draft law in refusing to be inducted into the army! There is some evidence that the government was advised not to prosecute because there was little to indicate that he was not a C.O.

Set Pattern

We might go on to consider two or three times the number already quoted. But the pattern is set. The registrant claims he is a C.O. He states that his opposition to war arises out of religious training and belief. The documents in his draft file, particularly the report of his hearing, substantiate this claim. Yet the hearing officer and the Justice Department admitting his sincerity, or not questioning it seriously, conclude that his opposition is merely philosophical or moral!

The consequence of this administrative action is that many young men who are admittedly C.O.'s face the prospect of army—or prison. Repeatedly they make it clear that they would choose prison. In one case the problem vanished when the C.O. failed to pass his pre-induction physical examination. In one instance (already noted) the C.O. was arrested for refusing induction, but the charge was dropped. In two instances, the

C.O. was prosecuted but acquitted. In still another instance the C.O. was inducted, but demonstrated conscientious objection by non-cooperation. In three months, he was discharged as unsuited for military duty.

Why?

This phenomenon raises the question: Why? The answer suggests the subjective conceptions of religion. When questioned by representatives of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Friends Service Committee, the hearing officer indicated that various considerations had to be kept in mind: the C.O.'s record of affiliation with, and activity in, a church, his reliance on the Scriptures as a basis for his opposition to war. But the hearing officer did not define religion. His position paralleled that of a colonel in national headquarters for Selective Service of whom a Utah C.O. said, "He refused to define 'religion' but did not hesitate to judge my religion."

One may agree that it is impossible to define religion satisfactorily in a few words, or that there is a difference of opinion as to what constitutes religion. Yet if officers of Selective Service and the Department of Justice judge when a man is religious, but do not define religion, their judgments are subjective and beyond any satisfactory check as to whether or not they rest upon arbitrary considerations. If officers can judge this way and are unsympathetic to C.O.'s—then we have one probable explanation for the conclusions.

It is difficult, however, to understand the reluctance of the hearing officer and the colonel to define religion. The draft law says:

"Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in a relation to a supreme being involving deities superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code."

This definition of religion is not a unique or peculiarly restricted one. The Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco has said of the Draft Law Definition: . . . "It . . . comports with the spirit in which 'religion' is understood generally, and the manner in which it has been defined by courts."

The definition does not, however, dispose of the question with which this report is concerned. The C.O.'s whose appeals have raised the question have in virtually every instance declared explicity that they believe in a supreme being and that their relation to the supreme being impels them to believe that war is wrong, no matter what the state may require of them.

Does this stem from some assumption that philosophy and morals are antithetical to religion? To ask the question with reference to morals is to answer it, so clear has been the contribution of religious thought and belief to moral standards. But what about philosophy? Sometimes philosophy and religion are discussed in such a manner as to suggest that one who is religious can hardly be philosophical and vice versa. Actually, however, no one can draw a sharp dichotomy between philosophy and religion. The Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco said, more-

over, that philosophical, moral, and even political sociological theories can be related to religion. The Court declared: "The study of philosophy seems . . . to be a valuable addition to the field of religion."

Then—must the C.O.'s stand primarily on religion?

The draft law says that "religious belief does not include essentially political, sociological or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code." This clearly indicates that no favorable recognition is given to a C.O. whose opposition to war is such. That a C.O. could oppose war politically or sociologically as well as religiously is irrelevant. It would seem that whenever uncontroverted evidence indicates that the stand of a C.O. is substantially religious, he should, assuming he is sincere, be legally recognized as a C.O. whether or not he also has a political, social or moral reason for refusing to bear arms. On the other hand, the hearing officer's position implied that if a C.O. rationalizes on religious grounds and political and moral considerations, his stand is NOT primarily religious, and he is not a C.O. within the meaning of the draft law.

That law does not require, however, that a claim of a C.O. be primarily religious in order to qualify its holder for exemption from military requirements. Nor does it say that a claim must be exclusively religious.

An English decision in labor law seems instructive here. The Trade Disputes Act of 1906 conferred upon labor unions certain immunities with reference to acts done "in contemplation or furtherance of trade dispute." A union called a strike against a bandmaster. He sued, claiming that the union should not enjoy the immunities of the statute because the strike was motivated by malice—by spite or perhaps a personal grudge. The trial court and the appellate court ruled that substantial labor interests motivated the dispute, and it was immaterial whether or not the union was also motivated by considerations legally frowned upon. Although that case involved labor law, the same principle seems applicable here. If a C.O. can show that his stand regarding war has a substantial religious basis, the fact that it also has some other basis is beside the point. There is a practical administrative argument, therefore, for restricting the inquiry to whether or not the religious basis exists to any substantial degree and to avoid finding out whether the religious basis is primary or equal or subordinate to some other basis!

If this conclusion is erroneous or disputed, there is a simple solution to part of the problem under consideration: Let Congress state that only a C.O. who is substantially religious can qualify for the exemptions under the draft law (whether or not he has nonreligious reasons for his position).

There is, however, a moral for C.O.'s to be drawn from the appeals here in Northern California. The C.O. who is filling out draft questionnaires and other Department of Justice information must take every precaution to limit himself to the religious bases of his stand and avoid confusing any administrative officer with philosophical, sociological, political, or moral considerations. They may exist, but let them be brought into the picture only whenever necessary.

SEVENTY-SEVEN TIMES

by Henry Cadbury

No one can read the Gospels without noticing their frequent reference to Old Testament passages fulfilled. They also more subtly indicate that the old is contrasted with the new. Two Gospels begin by referring to "the beginning" as Genesis does. One says, "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ"; another, "In the beginning was the Word," in apparent echo of "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." Luke echoes in the frontispiece of his second volume another of the early parts of Genesis.

There is another gospel passage that suggests the same use of contrast with the stories of Genesis. It is a saying of Jesus about multiple forgiveness, recorded in both Luke and Matthew. In the latter it runs (18:21, 22 corrected):

> Then came Peter and said to him, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? Until seven times?
>
> Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times, but until seventy-seven times.

The expression "seventy and seven fold" occurs in a curious story of the antediluvian period (Genesis 4:23, 24), concerning Lamech, the father of Noah. After mentioning his son Tubal-cain, the forger of every cutting instrument of brass and iron, the writer says:

And Lamech said unto his wives:
Adah and Zillah, hear my voice,
Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech:
For I have slain a man for wounding me,
And a young man for bruising me:
If Cain shall be avenged seven fold,
Truly Lamech seventy and seven fold.

This passage is part of the history of retaliation in the ancient world. Multiple retaliation was customary and was even codified in the civilizations prior to the Hebrews as shown by the Code of Hammurabi and less well-known codifications from the Mesopotamia area. In Genesis God's decree is reported: whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him seven fold. The Jewish Law was a more mild successor. It provided not multiple but equivalent penalties. Instead of many lives for a life, many wounds for a wound, only identical penalty was allowed —what is popularly called tit for tat. Even this was subsequently set aside by Jesus:

> Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also, etc.

Now just as Lamech's seventy-seven fold represents retaliation in crescendo from Cain's seven fold, so in the opposite direction one moves from Hammurabi to Moses to the Sermon on the Mount. With the spirit of the last, comes the other saying of Jesus, "Not seven fold, but seventy-seven fold."

These series in the historical study of retaliation are come to mind when a statesman of a "Christian" nation (and a churchman at that) uses the modern phrase "massive retaliation." Probably Lamech's words to his wives are to be understood as a boast or a warning such newly made weapons might inspire. When there is innovation in offensive weapons, we can understand the bravado and the threat. From Lamech to Dulles the world has seen plenty of the threats and much of the practice of massive retaliation. What the world has yet to see is the opposite phenomenon on a corresponding scale. What can one cite, or even imagine, of the application to modern life of the multiplicity in the ethics of Jesus? What would massive non-retaliation be? How shall we implement forgiveness as Peter was told to practice it seventy-seven times? The Christian Church must call those who so eagerly claim to trust in God and to hope in Christ to recognize the unfulfilled demands for seventy-seven times in the direction opposite to the cry of multiple revenge.

Just as the first requirement of militarism is that men must be prevented from getting together, so the very first requirement of non-violence is that opponents must meet face-to-face and mind-to-mind.

—Anton Nelson

WIL Celebrates 40th Birthday

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom marks its 40th Anniversary this year. In recognition of the League's "work and witness for peace and freedom" the F.O.R. sent its formal greetings and congratulations.

A minute adopted at the recent F.O.R. Executive Committee meeting said: "The Fellowship of Reconciliation, which only last year observed its 40th anniversary, is happy to send its warmest greetings and congratulations to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom upon its 40th birthday. We have rejoiced over the years in your work and witness for peace and freedom and join with you in faith and hope that war may be abolished before there is another significant anniversary to be celebrated."

The WIL's history dates back to World War I, when in 1915, some 1,136 women delegates from 12 countries (including seven belligerent nations) met at the Hague to protest against war. These first pioneers established the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace. It was the first organization of its kind.

During these initial years, the committee went on record in favor of Wilson's Fourteen Points and urged the United States to join the League of Nations. Its monthly newsletter, *The Four Lights*, first appeared in June, 1917; and in 1919, at Zurich, the organization changed its name, and elected Jane Addams as its first international president, and Emily Green Balch to the post of international secretary. Years later, both women received the Nobel Peace Prize.

The "middle years" between two world wars found the WIL active on several fronts. As early as 1920, it took a stand against universal military training and demanded the release of political prisoners of war and the lifting of the food blockade. Appalled by the economic conditions of a starving Europe, the WIL convened its Third International Congress in Vienna and passed a resolution emphasizing the need of "transforming the economic system in the direction of social justice."

After the advent of World War II, the policy of the WIL followed a middle road, stressing mediation, establishment of a Peace Aims Commission, World Government, and Human Rights. Toward the close of the war, it vigilantly proclaimed that "food should never be used as a political weapon" and urged the U.S. Government to distribute food only on the basis of need.

Following the end of the war, the WIL won consultative status in the United Nations Economic and Social Council and by 1949, it had initiated a fund for World Disarmament and Development as well as opened an office for its accredited observer to the U.N.

Today, the work of the WIL can be best visualized by a section of the report of its International Joint Chairman to the Tenth WIL Congress, which says: "If human dignity and human decency are despised and violated in one part of the globe, these mainstays of civilization will ultimately be subject to violation anywhere else. . . . Peace without these is a sham peace." In view of these words, one can see how the WIL's program is now directed toward maintaining the freedoms of communication, scientific investigation, speech and assembly, and the right to dissent. Anti-UMT, anti-extension of the Draft Act, and anti-McCarran-Walters Immigration Act, the WIL of 1955 has geared its forces in support of a neutral, unarmed Germany, liberal free trade, and the United Nations.

Ohio Parents Protest "Racist" Zoning Policy

Since September 17, 1954, parents have been keeping 33 children out of school in Hillsboro, Ohio, in an attempt to induce the school board to abandon a re-zoning policy designed to relegate almost all Negro elementary pupils to one school. The re-zoning measure was adopted about two weeks after the opening of the fall semester, after Negro parents had moved to place their children in the schools nearest them. The children attended classes for two weeks before the redistricting was announced by School Superintendent Paul Upp.

Petition for an injunction to prevent enforcement of the zoning resolution was filed in U.S. District Court by the NAACP on grounds that Hillsboro was thereby violating the U.S. Supreme Court decision banning segregation in the public schools. The petition was denied January 28 by Judge John H. Druffel in a decision based on testimony of Superintendent Upp that integration would take place upon the completion of two new schools, at which time all-Negro Lincoln Elementary School would be closed.

Even in the face of the adverse decision, morale is high in Hillsboro among parents who are keeping their children out of school. Many of the children still report to one of the two "white" schools and at least two of them have not missed a single morning. They report, are denied admittance—and return to their homes. Parents say they will not enroll their children in Lincoln even if there is a court order to that effect. The NAACP is appealing the decision of the District court.

Quakers Start Drive Against Death Penalty

Four bills seeking abolition of the death penalty are pending in the California legislature.

Sponsored by the Friends Committee on Legislation, one bill abolishes the death penalty, a second places a moratorium of five years on it to "prove that capital punishment is no deterrent"; a third makes it necessary for a jury to specify a death verdict; the fourth sets up a commission to study the whole question.

Dr. William F. Graves of the FCL executive committee thinks that the legislature will approve the third measure, perhaps in conjunction with the fourth. "The trouble with capital punishment is that it is an excuse for doing nothing to solve the situation which creates the crime," Graves said.

As a physician at San Quentin for two years, he said he learned nothing at the penitentiary to change his opinion. "For one thing," he added, "it is morally wrong . . . in this state there have been at least two 'hanged by mistake' within a quarter century."

The FCL pointed to statistics to show that the death penalty doesn't stop crime. Rhode Island, for instance, which abolished the penalty, has only 1.43 cases of homicide per 100,000 people. Connecticut, which retains the decree, has 2.1 cases.

Mennonite Farmer Denied Citizenship

A California Mennonite farmer was denied citizenship recently because he said he would not raise crops to feed combat soldiers.

Superior Court Judge W. G. Machetanz who ruled on the case said his decision was based on answers the farmer, John Thiesen of Dinuba, California, gave to a naturalization examiner in 1948. Although the judge didn't doubt that his answers were motivated by "devotion and zeal for religious convictions," he said that Thiesen's refusal to grow food for the armed forces or to serve as a medical corpsman "goes far beyond the tenets of his religion." He might refuse to do "some types of work of national importance . . . under civilian direction!" Quoting the Bible, the judge added that "Man's duty to the State and man's duty to God can be reconciled."

When questioned on whether he could become a medical corpsman to aid wounded soldiers, Thiesen replied, "Well, if it would be giving them first aid so they could shoot again, I couldn't do that."

Dr. Mary Lyman To Retire in July

Dr. Mary Ely Lyman will step down this July from her post as Morris K. Jesup Professor of English Bible and Dean of Women Students at Union Theological Seminary.

The first woman to occupy a chair on the Union faculty, and one of the first to hold a full professorship at any American theological school, Dr. Lyman is familiar to F.O.R. members as a loyal and tireless worker on the F.O.R. Executive Committee. Vice-chairman of the F.O.R. from 1950 to 1951, she served three consecutive years on the National Council, 1950 to 1953.

Her long teaching career began at Vassar College 35 years ago where she headed the college's Department of Religion from 1920 to 1926. Ordained as a Congregationalist Minister in 1949, Dr. Lyman has also served a six-year term as a member of the Commission under the World Council of Churches on the Life and Work of Women in the Church and was chairman of the Commission's executive committee from 1952 to 1954.

Dean of Women at Sweetbriar College for ten years, Dr. Lyman and her late husband, Dr. Eugene W. Lyman, contributed greatly to introducing the work of the F.O.R. to Virginia audiences.

Jehovah's Witnesses Win Supreme Court Appeal

Three Jehovah's Witnesses won reversals of their convictions as draft dodgers when a recent Supreme Court decision charged that Anthony T. Sicurella (Chicago), Robert Simmons (Chicago), and Joe Valdez Gonzales (Detroit) were entitled to CO classification on religious grounds. The Court further rebuked the Department of Justice for some of its procedures in handling these cases.

In the Simmons case, the court accused the Justice Department of unfairness. The Department had failed to supply Simmons with a fair resumé of the evidence collected against him, thereby denying him a chance to answer it at a hearing before the Selective Service Appeal Board, said the Court. "The Congress, in providing for a hearing, did not intend it to be conducted on the level of a game of blind man's buff," said Chief Justice Clark. "The summary was inadequate and the hearing was therefore lacking in basic fairness."

The Justice Department also erred in not furnishing Gonzales with a copy of the recommendation it made to the Selective Service Appeal Board, said Clark. By this failure, he was denied his basic right to answer allegations against his character.

In reversing the decision that Sicurella, by stating he would fight in a "theocratic war" was not a conscientious religious objector, the Court said: "We are not able to stretch our imagination to the point of believing that the yardstick of Congress includes within its measure such spiritual wars between the powers of good and evil where the Jehovah's Witnesses, if they participate, will do so without carnal weapons."

National Council Says It's Still Anti-UMT

The National Council of Churches is still against UMT.

Meeting in Chicago, its General Board said, "We are now in a situation in which it is most important that the churches uphold the hands of leaders who are seeking to reduce tension among the nations." It further urged the Council constituent churches to study current legislative proposals having to do with military training from the standpoint of their international and domestic significance.

In its resolution the board reaffirmed a 1952 stand in which it stated that universal military training was a step toward the "garrison state" and not "in accord with our heritage as a free nation under God." A stronger declaration against UMT, however, was rejected by a vote of 38 to 33. This resolution warned of "the ultimate danger of totalitarian trends in our own country through potential military regimentation."

Planning to go overseas with a technical assistance project? Haverford College recently announced its graduate curriculum in social and technical assistance. It is designed to train technicians to meet those inevitable cultural and personal problems abroad. Write Graduate Curriculum, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. for further details.

A.F.S.C. Announces Summer Workshops

Philadelphia, Pa.—The American Friends Service Committee's summer work and study projects expect to enroll nearly a thousand youth of college age.

The Quaker organization will send young people to a dozen countries of Europe, Mexico, El Salvador, Japan and possibly Haiti and India. Others will work on factory assembly lines in the U.S., assist social agencies in slum areas, and learn about conditions on Indian reservations.

As always, participants will include members of most races and faiths and many nationalities; customarily only a minority are Quakers.

About 75 volunteers will attend work camps in Algeria, Israel and 13 countries of Europe, and a few may join a work camp and seminar in Japan from mid-June to mid-September. Also scheduled are work camps in Haiti, India and Pakistan.

Six work camps in the U.S. are planned. Three will work with Indians—at Nett Lake, Minn., on the Chippewa reservation 200 miles north of the Twin Cities at Crownpoint, N. M., with 15 Navajo communities; and at Bellingham, Wash., with the Lummi tribe. Another will be with migrant workers in Pennsylvania and a fifth at a settlement house in a blighted area of Richmond, Va. In Alabama, a work camp will provide the first interracial experience to a Southern community, where a college has voted to accept both Negro and white students.

A workshop called "Internes in Industry" is aimed at students who will want to learn about industry first hand by hunting for jobs and working on assembly lines in five American cities.

IFOR General Conference To Take Up "Coexistence"

In the lovely setting of Vaumarcus, Switzerland, overlooking Lake Neuchatel, some 200 persons from twenty countries will gather this summer at a conference organized by the International FOR to discuss "The Christian and Coexistence." Site of the meeting, which will run from *August 21 to 27,* is a YMCA conference estate.

Two Americans will be among the speakers: Dr. Culbert G. Rutenber, author of *The Dagger and the Cross,* and John Swomley, national FOR secretary.

Speakers from other countries include such notables as Canon Charles E. Raven, of England; Pastor Martin Niemöller, and Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultze, of Germany; Prof. G. H. S. Macgregor, of Scotland, author of *The New Testament Basis of Pacifism;* Dr. Hannes de Graff, of the Dutch FOR: Bishop Santo Uberto Barbieri, a president of the World Council of Churches; Dr. Michio Kozaki, president of the United Church of Japan; and André Trocmé and Henri Roser, FOR and church leaders of France. Rev. John Nevin Sayre, IFOR chairman, will preside. The conference will accommodiate about twenty Americans, with reservations being made through Mr. Sayre at national FOR headquarters. The inclusive expense for dormitory accommodations and meals for the whole conference will be $14. (U.S. currency). There is a $2 registration fee payable in advance at the time of making a reservation.

One Man's Debate

The Root Is Man by Dwight Macdonald. The Cunningham Press. 63 pages (large size) $2.00.

The main body of this book consists of two essays by Dwight Macdonald published in his magazine *Politics* during and immediately after World War II. One on *The Responsibility of Peoples* appeared in the March 1945 issue. *The Root Is Man* was published in the April and July numbers in 1946. These articles, perhaps especially the latter, created a sensation in intellectual circles when they first appeared. They reported Macdonald's shift from a basically Marxist to a pacifist and near-anarchist position. In accounting for the convictions he had reached Macdonald dealt brilliantly with a number of problems quite as current, profound and tragic now as they were ten years ago.

This is as good a point as any to dispel any notion that the work is in any degree "dated" and to urge students, ministers, all who are concerned about the problems of responsible social action and a personal philosophy adequate for our time, to get a copy and study it.

Macdonald, as of August 1953, when the Cunningham Press issued the present work, was no longer a pacifist and had changed his views at some other points. He consented to the republication of the essays therefore, on condition that he be permitted to add a few footnotes and a few appendices calling attention to the changes and the reasons for them. The chance to listen in on Dwight's debate with himself adds to the interest and stimulus of the book—again whether or not one agrees with his pacifist phase or non-pacifist or with neither!

In the first place, he had come to believe that Soviet Communism was "far more inhumane and barbarous as a social system than our own" and that it offered a far "greater threat to the peace and well-being of the world today." Since, therefore, it was not a question of two rival imperialisms to which one could apply the thesis of Lenin and Karl Liebknecht that "the main enemy is at home," he concluded that he must "support the political, economic and military struggle of the West against the East."

The second consideration which led Macdonald to abandon pacifism as a political position, though still greatly respecting those who hold to pacifism on moral grounds, was the familiar one that Gandhian nonviolence could work against the British but not against Communists or Nazis who were not inhibited by traditional moral codes against simply wiping out "passive resisters."

Firstly, Macdonald now disregards the profound observation about the nature of modern war which Simone Weil made in *Politics*, February 1945, and which he himself quotes earlier in the present work. "Modern war," she wrote, "appears as a struggle led by all State apparatuses and their general staffs against all men old enough to bear arms." William Faulkner has brought out in his latest novel, *A Fable*, the same point that among modern war machines the one both fights and creates and sustains the other. Does Dwight really think, to refer now to his comments on Randolph Bourne—that "war is the health of the State"—does not apply to the American State? He thought it did in the A-bomb age: has the H-bomb changed the situation?

Secondly, Macdonald provides in the original essays a profound analysis of *Western* ideas (including Marxist) about "the ultimate rationality of history"; emphasis on impersonal historical "processes" rather than on man; "automatic progress"; and the conviction that it is the "nature of scientific and technological advance to benefit mankind, resulting in the subjection of man to technology. He pointed out that these shaped society and culture in *both* capitalist and Communist lands. It is impossible for me to conceive how if this was true in 1945, it is somehow less true and decisive for political analysis and guidance of conduct in 1955.

Thirdly, granting that though Americans have too few liberties, Russians have none—to use this picturesque formulation of Macdonald's—what reason is there to think that continuance of U.S. foreign policy and preparation for atomic war will save Americans from landing where the Russians are? It seems to me unwise to base much hope on the fact that in a country as rich as this which has never yet had a modern bomb, even a "conventional" one, dropped on its soil, some liberties remain.

This brings up a fourth consideration, viz., that Macdonald seems now to make no allowance for the "aggression" involved in the fact that a nation which has about half the entire wealth of the world and has emerged richer and more powerful after two wars, is prepared to risk atomic and biological war in order to hold on to its privileged position, otherwise called "interests." Or to be more concrete, a country which claims the right to include Formosa in its defense sphere, which would be something like Russia or China claiming their "interests" required them to maintain big air and naval forces in the Caribbean.

Lastly, Macdonald has to fall back, of course, on the theory that "the best chance of postponing war and perhaps avoiding it altogether is for the West to keep up its military strength and to be prepared to counter force with force." Perhaps all that need be done at the moment about this proposition is to quote Dwight's own sentences that follow in the same paragraph. (He does not consciously duck issues.) "I admit," he says, "that the results of the Korean war have been disastrous, especially for the Korean people. . . . Perhaps there is no solution any longer to these agonizing problems."

A very brief comment on the contention that Gandhian nonviolence could work where the British

were involved but not the Nazis or the Russians. This is a problem which deserves extensive treatment in FELLOWSHIP. The answer would run, it seems to me, along some such lines as these:

1. Before Gandhi applied the method and philosophy in India, people were just as sure it could not work against British imperialists.

2. As Macdonald pointed out in an earlier phase, the question is not essentially whether Stalin or Bulganin would succumb to a nonviolent approach, but whether the Russian people can be appealed to on moral grounds. Also, of course, whether maintaining the U.S. atomic and biological arsenals a few miles from their land is likely in time to generate in them a trusting and peaceful attitude toward us and, in the meantime, can be trusted to "deter" them and their rulers from any dangerously or decisively hostile move toward us?

3. As just suggested, the argument that a nonviolent—or shall we say, "Christian"—approach can work in the easy cases but not in the tough ones means in logic and practice that in dealing with tough "enemies," you have to beat them at their own game, with their own weapons, you have to wreak much more damage than they. Macdonald cites Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima, the Morgenthau plan, etc., etc., in substantiation of this thesis. And this means in the H-bomb age—what?

That Macdonald is not an enthusiastic nonpacifist—and has not terminated the debate with himself—is strikingly illustrated by the conclusion of this book. Macdonald publishes an essentially pacifist article by Andrea Caffi which arrived too late for publication in *Politics* before it suspended: "I am willing to let him have the last word," Dwight writes, and "because I agree with his main point that our solutions cannot be found on the plane of mass politics, and I am not sure I don't agree with a lot more besides." It gives you a warm feeling to read an admission like that in this "Ice Age."

—A. J. MUSTE

A Monumental Study

The International Library of the Sociology of Cooperation. Vol. I and Vol. II. Frederick A. Praeger, N. Y. 151 pp. $3.00. Foreword by Clarence Senior.

"The scientist of today already has begun to realize that even if he wants to, he cannot escape responsibility for his findings, simply because of the unlimited, and apparently uncontrollable, potentialities of destruction they hold, threatening to obliterate all and everything, himself as well as his science included. . . . A change not so much in (scientific) method as in subject matter probably offers the . . . solution, especially if the change means shifting attention from matters fraught with destruction to those compatible with affirmation of life and a sense of wholesome living. The first discipline to execute such a change, as far as we know, is the sociology that, turning away from an engrossing preoccupation with conflict and competition sets itself as its paramount task that of the study of cooperation."

From an Address by Dr. Henrik F. Infield at the opening of the First General Assembly of the International Council for Research in the Sociology of Cooperation, Paris, September 1954. Printed in *Cooperative Living*, Fall 1954.

While the more "thoughtful"

newspapers have turned away from an engrossing preoccupation with the latest sex murder, they fill the bulk of their columns with the speeches of Dulles, Eisenhower, Mendes-France, Molotov and other politicians who are still turning phrases in the age-old conflict of power-politics. But if history is being made today—if the possibility of a continuation of history in the future is being preserved—it is by small, relatively unnoticed groups like Henrik Infield and the International Council for Research in the Sociology of Cooperation, like Pitirim Sorokin and the Research Center in Creative Altruism, and even more significantly, by the people and projects whose experimental attempts to put cooperation and "altruism" into practice are being studied by Sorokin, Infield, and a few others.

As part of its work, the International Council has begun a series of studies and reports under the general title of "The International Library of the Sociology of Cooperation." These books are being published simultaneously in the United States, France, Italy and Germany, with plans under way for publication in Israel as well. Here is a rich field for reading and study for pacifists and others who, quite properly, are concerned with advancing beyond the negative politics of protest and opposition to a positive "affirmation of life and . . . wholesome living." Written by professional sociologists, the books lack, as they are intended to lack, the contagious affirmation of pioneers like Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave, but their scientific detachment makes possible certain substitute values, such as factual reporting and much-needed analysis.

The first two volumes of the International Library have already been announced. They are 1. "Utopia and Experiment, Essays in the Sociology of Cooperation" by Henrik F. Infield and 2. "People in Ejidos, A Visit to the Cooperative Farms in Mexico," by Henrik Infield and Koka Freier. By some quirk, the second volume has already appeared, in advance of Volume I, but the latter will be available by the time this appears in print.

I imagine that many FELLOWSHIP readers will be as surprised as I was to learn that approximately 5 million Mexicans, or a fourth of the country's total population, are living on *ejidos* or cooperative farms. The basis for these farms was created by the land reforms that took place as a part of the Revolution of 1910. For years, "progress . . . was slow, uneven, and not very impressive." But in 1934-40, under the Presidency of Cardenas, great strides were made, both in the number of cooperative farms organized (therefore in the number of peasants freed from serf-like dependence on the landowners) and in the internal development of many of the *ejidos*.

The authors visited 20 *ejidos* in 1952, and the book is a report of what they saw. The impression given by the book is of many disappointments and some failures, but of moderate general improvement in the lot of the people involved, particularly in "the sense of freedom and regained self-respect" of former peons who are now members of cooperative villages. Unfortunately the field trip on which this report is based was not thorough enough to give conclusive evidence on this and a

number of other points. For instance, emphasis is made of the paradox that "although sponsored by the government" the program "remains essentially voluntary." Later it is stated that some of the bad conditions are related to "what went on behind the scenes, especially in the murky realm of politics" but there is no significant information or analysis of this crucial point.

Probably the greatest weakness of the book results from the brevity of the visits and the resulting superficiality of investigation. But the authors never claim to have seen more than they did see, and what they saw is of interest. *People in Ejidos* constitutes a good primer in the more brotherly social organization of our "backward" neighbors. It supplements Dr. Infield's more extensive investigations of cooperative experiments in Israel, France, Canada, and the United States.

—DAVE DELLINGER

A Moderate Attempt

Freedom to Learn. 16 mm., color or b and w, sound film. 27½ min. Produced by National Education Association, in cooperation with the National Association of Secretaries of State Teachers Associations. May be borrowed from State Education Associations.

Everything is relative, of course, and books and films must be judged within the framework of the culture in which they are produced. In the context of our times, therefore, *Freedom to Learn* is a heartening, moderately courageous effort of educators to stem the tide of hysteria that threatens to inundate democratic teaching.

The scene is a meeting of a school board called to hear charges that a social studies teacher in the local high school has been "teaching communism." Her defense, while a trifle sermonic at times, is eloquent and effective. (The film, with real intelligence, does not reveal the board's final decision, which makes it more valuable to discussion groups, who can take up where the defense rests.)

The carper who is not satisfied with courage within a context would have two criticisms aside from noting the inevitable genuflection to military service without which no modern film is complete. The more serious of these is that, as one would expect, the "teaching *about* communism" to which the teacher proudly pleads guilty, is the usual superficial black-vs.-white contrast with "democratic capitalism." There is no mention of the real achievements of communism that give it so much appeal to the colonial peoples of the earth, nor of the real shortcomings of capitalism, which have done so much to render the democratic appeal colorless and ineffective in the same places.

The second is, in a sense, like unto it. It is the interesting absence of any Negro child or parent from the class and school meeting scenes. Many Americans will miss this, but the Communists won't!—A. H.

Individuals from New York to California have seen Children of the A Bomb!

Judgment on a Judgment

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Think of the moral chaos in which we should find ourselves involved if each earnest and well-meaning person should make up his mind to tell a lie whenever it would produce what seemed to him a beneficial result or prevent what seemed to him an intolerable evil. What chance would there be that within any calculable time the human race would be making a general advance toward understanding Right to be much better than Wrong that it would always be better to choose it, no matter what the cost?

REBEKAH G. HENSHAW
Providence, R. I.

Is Truth Supreme?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Your reader Anne E. Moffett's letter is interesting. It raises the point *Is Truth supreme?* Do not most of us act a lie—often by a conspiracy of silence we refrain from comment.

We use a euphemism. We call it Diplomacy.

I was for five and a half years a civilian prisoner of the Germans—we had to use deceit to get food to some Jewish prisoners because permission had been refused us to give it to them.

To deceive the Germans was to act a lie—were we right? Is the commandment "Thou shalt not kill but shalt not strive to keep alive"? If not how would the upholders of Truth have got by barbed wire, machine guns and watch dogs?

JACK K. NUTLEY
Tonbridge, England

Lost in the Shuffle

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I was extremely interested in your exchange on the subject of telling a lie to save a life, however, cannot help feeling that the key point was lost in the shuffle. The question, as posed, is nothing more than asking whether an evil means can serve a just purpose, and I think it is necessary that pacifists keep clear in their minds that there is no situation where this either-or approach holds true. Naturally, many of us might tell a lie, and varying the degree of evil, even kill to serve a higher aim. Yet we must never accept such actions as meaning anything more than that we have been unable to achieve the capacity that would enable us to meet the situation in a Christ-like manner. In the New Testament there are cases when Christ was presented questions to which we might have found it necessary to lie, yet He was able to reach into the heart of the matter and bring out the ultimate truth.

Our objective must be to understand the fact and real truth of any condition that we are met with. It may then be necessary for a personal or group sacrifice to be made that will ultimately solve the problem, but more likely we will, if we have understanding and love, effect a change that will achieve ends that are just because the means were compatible with God's Way.

The above approach to the subject may be the ideal one, but let us keep our sights on it, otherwise we sell pacifism and Christianity short.

LINCOLN FIGART
Chittenango, N. Y.

The Laws of Gravity

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I was quite interested in the National Council action in the field of economics. I have been planning for some time to write a letter setting forth my views on a pacifist program. Now that you of the national office have thrown the gauntlet down I cannot postpone writing any longer.

In building a house we build all four walls at the same time. If we attempt to build one wall at a time we find ourselves defying the laws of gravity. Where we work on all sides at once each side lends support to the adjacent side.

We must make religion a living element in our daily acts. There are four points which I would place on an equal basis. These points are: 1. religious worship; 2. political activity; 3. economics; 4. race relations.

These four points cannot be set down in a specific order of importance. They are so inter-related they are inseparable.

To be religious one finds himself interested and participating in politics because he seeks good government for himself, his family, and others.

Again to be religious one finds himself interested in the economic welfare of his family and of those about him.

By putting our religion into daily use through the political and economic welfare of our community we find ourselves crossing the color line. In so doing we erase that line.

In worshiping together, in being statesmen together, in working together in the field of capital-labor, in being brothers together we erase all barriers and become one. Then we truly become a fellowship of reconciliation.

The FOR has done a great deal in the field of race relations. Congratulations on your move into the field of economics. Now may we move forward into the field of political statesmanship. We cannot hope to reform the two dominant parties. We could move into the Socialist party and aid leaders like Norman Thomas in attaining a goal of economic justice through the Rochdale cooperative plan. Or again we might find it wisest to support one of the newer parties.

Whatever our political views may be we must forget our petty differences and work together in overcoming capitalistic and militaristic oppression.

JOHN E. SKINNER
Tucson, Arizona

Praise

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

"China and the Floods" in the February issue struck me as excellent. I cannot help but be particularly glad that you gave a mild spanking to the *Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter* for its unrealism regarding famine and floods in China. The editor is an old friend and I am sorry to have to agree with you against him!

Your last sentence has a ring of real importance in it: this is the true FOR spirit. Our aim is surely always to help where our help is needed.

This whole issue is an excellent one, and I can only comment also on "Umbrellas of Prayer" by Dottie Samuel—an original and artistic bit of work.

JOHN F. DAVIDSON
New York, N. Y.

The Editors,

Your FELLOWSHIP magazine is a monthly challenge to the finest ideals in the human race. My prayers are with you in your work.

E. P. CHRISTENSEN
Fort Scott, Kansas

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FOR YOUR CHILD: pacifist intentional community sponsoring boys' and girls' summer camp (age 6-12). Intimate group-sharing experience (30 campers), professional direction. Open to all races, creeds. Write Koinonia Farm, Route 2, Americus, Ga.

Reading Treasures

A la Carte

freshers, perhaps, on
ur own hidden thoughts,
what better quotes
n from those of two
dy perennials—

*ur life, alas is spent in the past—in memories—in prepara-
n, and often in fear. Once the car is in gear . . . the man
carried along helplessly. The vague dream of freedom
cherished in his youth is replaced by a yoke he must
r for his conscience' sake without being sure why, until
day he dies, while history rolls ceaselessly. . . ."*

Andre Trocme—The Politics of Repentance

*ne question is not whether one is going to die in war;
he appointed time all men, and nations also, die. This is
order of nature. The question for the morally responsible
vhat happens to himself if he becomes a murderer. . . ."*

A. J. Muste—How To Deal With a Dictator

o fragments from books which should be in your library,
l in the libraries of relatives, friends, and ministers

The Politics of Repentance, $2

How to Deal with a Dictator, 25c

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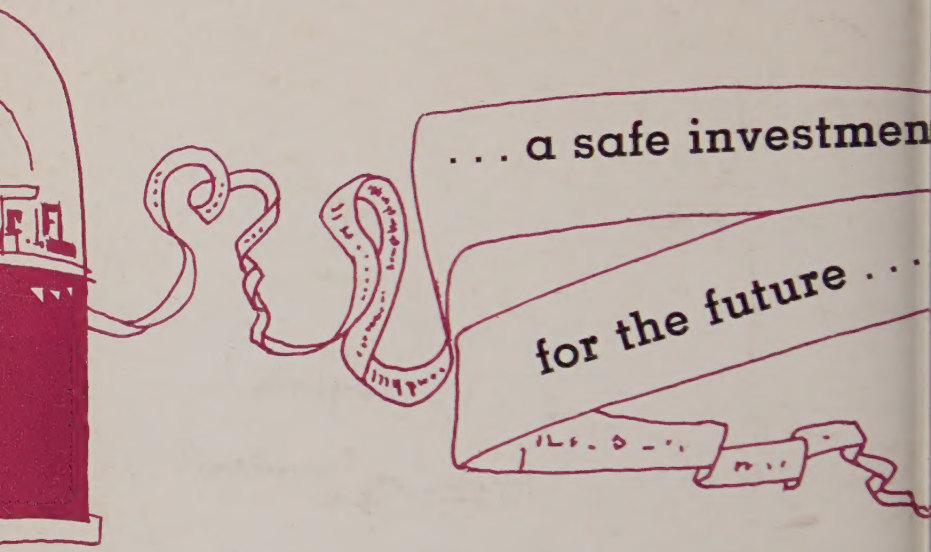

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